HIS

MAJESTIES ANSWER,

To a Book, intituled,

The Declaration, or Remonſtrance of the Lords and Commons,

The 19 *of* May 1642.

Printed by his Majeſties ſpeciall command At *CAMBRIDGE*, By ROGER DANIEL Printer to the famous Univerſitie. 1642.

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His Majesties Answer to a Book intituled, *The Declaration, or Remonstrance of the Lords and Commons*, of the 19 of May.

IF We could be weary of taking any pains for the satisfaction of our people, and to undeceive them of those specious mischievous Infusions which are daily instilled into them, to shake and corrupt their loyalty and affection to Us and Our Government, after so full and ample Declaration of Our Self and Intentions, and so fair and satisfactory answers to all such matters as have been objected to Vs by a major part present of both Houses of Parliament, We might well give over this labour of Our Pen, and sit still, till it shall please God so to enlighten the Affections and Understandings of Our good Subjects on our behalf (which We doubt not but that in his good time he will do) that they may see Our sufferings are their sufferings. But, since in stead of applying themselves to the Method proposed by Vs, of making such solid particular Propositions as might establish a good Understanding between Us, or of following the advice of Our Councel of *Scotland* (with whom they communicate their affairs) in forbearing all means that may make the breach wider and wound deeper, they have

choſen to purſue Vs with new Reproches, or rather to continue and improve the old, by adding & varying little Circumſtances and Language, in matters formerly urged by them, and fully anſwered by Vs, We prevailed with Our Self, upon very mature and particular conſideration of it, to anſwer the late printed Book, intituled, *A Declaration or Remonſtrance of the Lords and Commons*, which was ordered the nineteenth of May laſt to be printed and publiſhed, hoping then that they would put Vs to no more of this trouble, but that that ſhould have been the laſt of ſuch a nature they would have communicated to Our people, and that they would not, as they have done ſince, thought fit to aſſault us with a Newer Declaration, indeed of a very new Nature and Learning, which muſt have another Anſwer. And We doubt not but that Our good Subjects, in ſhort time, will be ſo well inſtructed in the differences, and miſtakings between Vs, that they will plainly diſcern, without reſigning their reaſon and underſtanding to Our Prerogative, or the infallibility of a now major part of both Houſes of Parliament (infected by a few malignant ſpirits) where the fault is.

Though We ſhall with humility and alacritie be alwayes forward to acknowledge the infinite Mercy and Providence of Almighty God, vouchſafed ſo many ſeverall wayes to Our Self and this Nation, yet ſince God himſelf doth not allow, that We ſhould fancy and create dangers to Our Self, that we might manifeſt and publiſh his Mercy in Our deliverance, We muſt profeſſe We do not know thoſe deliverances mentioned in the beginning of that Declaration, from ſo many wicked Plots and Deſignes ſince the beginning of this Parliament, which, if they had taken effect, would have brought ruine and deſtruction

ſtruction upon this Kingdome. We well know the great labour and skill hath been uſed to amate and afright Our good Subjects with fears and apprehenſions of Plots and Conſpiracies, the ſeverall Pamphlets publiſhed, and Letters ſcattered up and down full of ſuch ridiculous contemptible Animadverſions to that purpoſe, as (though they found, for what end God knows, very unuſuall countenance) no ſober man would be moved with them: But We muſt confeſſe, We have never been able to inform Our Self of any ſuch pernicious formed deſigne againſt the Peace of this Kingdome ſince the beginning of this Parliament, as is mentioned in that Declaration, or might be any warrant to thoſe great Fears both Our Houſes of Parliament ſeemed to be tranſported with, but we have great cauſe to believe more miſchief and danger hath been raiſed and begotten to the diſturbance of this Kingdome, then cured or prevented by thoſe Fears and Jealouſies: And therefore however the rumour and diſcourſe of Plots and Conſpiracies may have been neceſſary to the deſignes of particular men, they ſhall do well not to pay any falſe devotions to Almighty God, who diſcerns whether Our dangers are reall or pretended.

For the bringing up of the Army to *London*, as We have heretofore (by no other direction then the teſtimony of a good conſcience) called God to witneſſe We never had, or knew of any ſuch Reſolution, ſo upon the view of the Depoſitions now publiſhed with that Declaration, it is not evident to Us there was ever ſuch a Deſigne, unleſſe very looſe Diſcourſe or Argument be inſtance enough of ſuch a Deſigne: And it is apparent, that what was ſaid of it, was near three moneths before the diſcovery to both Houſes of Parliament, ſo that if

there were any danger threatned that way, it vaniſhed without any reſiſtance or prevention, by the Wiſdome, Power, or Authority of them.

It ſeems the intention of that Declaration (whatſoever other end it hath) is to Anſwer a Declaration they received from Vs, in Anſwer to that which was preſented to Us at *Newmarket* the ninth of March laſt; and likewiſe to Our Anſwer to the Petition of both Houſes, preſented to Vs at *York*, the twenty ſixth of March laſt. But before that Declaration fals upon any particulars of Our ſaid Declaration or Anſwer, it complains, That the heads of the Malignant Party have with much Art and Induſtry adviſed Vs to ſuffer divers unjuſt Scandals and Imputations upon the Parliament, to be publiſhed in our Name, whereby they might make it odious to the people, and by their help deſtroy it: But not inſtancing in any one Scandall or Imputation ſo publiſhed by Vs, We are ſtill to ſeek for the Heads of that Malignant Partie. But Our good Subjects will eaſily underſtand, That if We were guilty of that Aſperſion, We muſt not onely be active in raiſing the Scandall, but paſſive in the Miſchief begotten by that Scandall, We being an eſſentiall part of the Parliament: and We hope the juſt defence of Our Self, and Our Authority, and the neceſſary vindication of Our Innocence and Juſtice, from the Imputation laid on Vs by a major part, then preſent of either, or both Houſes, ſhall no more be called a Scandall upon the Parliament, then the opinion of ſuch a part be reputed an Act of Parliament: And We hope Our good Subjects will not be long miſ-led by that common expreſſion in all the Declarations (wherein they uſurp the word Parliament, and apply it to countenance any Reſolu-

ſolution or Vote) ſome few have a mind to make, by calling it, *The Reſolution of Parliament*, which can never be without Our conſent; Neither can the Vote of either, or both Houſes, make a greater alteration in the Laws of this Kingdome (ſo ſolemnly made by the advice of their Predeceſſours, with the concurrence of Us and Our Anceſtours) either by commanding or inhibiting any thing (beſides the known Rule of the Law) then Our ſingle Direction or Mandate can do, to which We do not aſcribe the Authority.

But that Declaration informs our People that the Malignant Partie hath drawn Vs into the Northern parts far from Our Parliament. It might more truly and properly have ſaid, That it hath driven, then drawn Vs hither. For We confeſſe, Our Journey hither (for which We have no other reaſon to be ſorry, then with reference to the cauſe of it) was onely forced upon Vs by the true Malignant Party which contrived and countenanced thoſe barbarous Tumults and other ſeditious Circumſtances of which We have ſo often complained, and hereafter ſhall ſay more, and which indeed threatens ſo much danger to Our Perſon, and laid ſo much ſcandall upon the whole Priviledge and Dignitie of Parliament, that We wonder it can be mentioned without Bluſhes or Indignation: But of that anon. But why the Malignant Party ſhould be charged with cauſing a Preſſe to be tranſported to *York*, We cannot imagine, neither have any Papers or Writings iſſued from thence, to Our knowledge, but what have been extorted from Vs by ſuch provocations, as have not been before offered to a King. And no doubt it will appear a moſt triviall and fond Exception, when all Preſſes are open to vent whatſoever

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ever they think fit to ſay to the people, (a thing unwarranted by former cuſtome) that We ſhould not make uſe of all lawfull means to publiſh Our juſt and neceſſary Anſwers thereunto. As for the authoritie of the great Seal (though We do not know that it hath been neceſſary to things of this nature) the ſame ſhall be more frequently uſed hereafter, as occaſion ſhall require, to which We make no doubt the greater and better part of Our Privy Conncell will concurre, and whoſe Advice We are reſolved to follow, as farre as it ſhall be agreeable to the good and welfare of the Kingdome.

Before that Declaration vouchſafes to inſiſt on any particulars, it is pleaſed to cenſure both Our Declaration and Anſwer, to be filled with harſh Cenſures, and Cauſeleſſe Charges upon the Parliament, (ſtill miſ-applying the word Parliament to the Vote of both Houſes) concerning which they reſolve to give ſatisfaction to the Kingdome, ſince they find it very difficult to ſatisfie Vs. If, as in the uſage of the word Parliament, they have left Vs out of their thoughts; ſo by the word Kingdome, they intend to exclude all Our people, who are out of their walls: (for that's grown another Phraſe of the Time, the Vote of the major part of both Houſes, and ſometimes of one, is now called, *The Reſolution of the whole Kingdome*) We believe it may not be hard to give ſatisfaction to themſelves; otherwiſe We are confident (and Our confidence proceeds from the uprightneſſe of Our own Conſcience) they will never be able ſo to ſever the affections of Us and Our Kingdome, that what cannot be ſatisfaction to the one, ſhall be to the other. Neither will the Style of Humble, and Faithfull,

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and telling Us, That they will make Vs a Great and Glorious King, in their Petitions and Remonſtrances, ſo deceive Our good Subjects, that they will paſſe over the Reproches, Threats, and Menaces they are ſtuffed with, which ſure could not be more gently reprehended by Vs, then by ſaying, Their expreſſions were different from the uſuall Language to Princes, which that Declaration tells you, We had no occaſion to ſay. But We believe, whoſoever looks over that Declaration preſented to Vs at *Newmarket*, to which Ours was an Anſwer, will find the Language throughout it, to be ſo unuſuall, that, before this Parliament, it could never be parallel'd, whiles under pretence of juſtifying their fears, they give ſo much countenance to the diſcourſe of the Rebels of *Ireland*, as if they had a mind Our good Subjects ſhould give credit to it: Otherwiſe, being warranted by the ſame evidence, which they have ſince publiſhed, they would have as well declared, That thoſe Rebels publickly threaten the rooting out the name of the Engliſh, and that they will have a King of their own, and no longer be governed by Vs, as that they ſay, That they do nothing but by Our Authority, and that they call themſelves, The Queens Army. And therefore We have great reaſon to complain of the abſence of Juſtice and Integrity in that Declaration, beſides the unfitneſſe of other expreſſions. Neither did We miſtake the Subſtance or Logick of the Meſſage to Us at *Theobalds*, concerning the *Militia*, which was no other, and is ſtated to be no other (even by that Declaration which reproved Us) then a plain threat, That if We refuſed to joyn with them, they would make a Law without Vs: nor hath the Practice ſince that time been other which will never be juſtified to the moſt ordinary (if no

partiall) Underſtandings, by the meer averring it to be according to the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdome, without giving any direction, that the moſt cunning and learned men in the Laws may be able to find thoſe foundations. And We muſt appeal to all the World, Whether they might not with as much Juſtice, and by as much Law, have ſeized upon the eſtate of every Member of both Houſes, who diſſented from that pretended Ordinance (which much the major part of the Houſe of Peers did two or three ſeverall times) as they have invaded that Power of Ours over the *Militia*, becauſe We (upon Reaſons they have not ſo much as pretended to anſwer) refuſed to conſent to that Propoſition: And if no better effects then loſſe of Time and Hinderance of the publick Affairs have been found by Our Anſwers and Replies, let all good men judge by whoſe default, and whoſe want of duty ſuch effects have been: For as Our end (indeed onely end) in thoſe Anſwers and Replies hath been, The ſettlement and compoſure of publick Affairs, ſo We are aſſured, and moſt men do believe, That if that due Regard and Reverence had been given to Our Words, and that Conſent and Obedience to Our counſels, which We did expect, there had been before this time a cheerfull Calm upon the face of the whole Kingdome, every man enjoying his own, with all poſſible Peace and Security that can be imagined, which ſurely thoſe men do not deſire, who (after all thoſe Acts of Juſtice and Favour paſſed by Vs this Parliament, all thoſe Affronts and Sufferings endured and undergone by Vs) think fit ſtill to reproch Vs with Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct-Money, and other things ſo abundantly declared (as that Declaration it ſelf confeſſes) in the generall Remonſtrance

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of the State of the Kingdome, publiſhed in November laſt, which We wonder to find now avowed to be the Remonſtrance of both Houſes, & which We are ſure was preſented to Vs onely by the Houſe of Commons, and did never, and We are confident, in that time, could never have paſſed the Houſe of Peers; the Concurrence and Authority of which was not then thought neceſſary. Shall We believe thoſe Reproches to be the voice of the Kingdome of *England*? That all Our loving Subjects eaſed, refreſhed, ſtrengthened, and abundantly ſatisfied with Our Acts of Grace and Favour towards them, are willing to be involved in theſe unthankfull expreſſions: We muſt appeal to the Thanks and Acknowledgements publiſhed in the Petitions of moſt of the Counties of *England*; to the teſtimony and thanks We have received from both Houſes of Parliament, how ſeaſonable, how agreeable this uſage of Vs is to Our merit, or their former expreſſions.

We have not at all ſwarved or departed from Our Reſolution, or words in the beginning of this Parliament: We ſaid, We were reſolved to put Our Self freely and clearly upon the Love and Affection of Our Engliſh Subjects, and We ſay ſo ſtill, as farre as concernes *England*. And We call Almightie God to witneſſe, all Our Complaints and Jealouſies, which have never been cauſeleſſe, nor of Our Houſes of Parliament (but of ſome few Schiſmaticall, Factious, and Ambitious Spirits, and upon grounds, as ſhort time, We fear, will juſtifie to the world) Our deniall of the *Militia*, Our abſenting Our Self from *London*, have been the effects of an upright and faithfull Affection to Our Engliſh Subjects, that We may be able (through all the inconveniences We are compelled to

wraſtle with) at laſt to preſerve and reſtore their Religion, Laws, and Liberties unto them.

Since the proceeding againſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members, is ſtill looked upon, and ſo often preſſed, as ſo great an advantage againſt Vs, that no retractation made by Vs, nor no Actions ſince that time cõmitted againſt Vs, and the Law of the Land, under pretence of vindication of Priviledge, can ſatisfie the Contrivers of that Declaration, but that they would have Our good Subjects believe, The Accuſation of thoſe ſix Members muſt be a plot for the breaking the neck of the Parliament, (a ſtrange Arrogance, if any of thoſe Members had the penning of that Declaration) and that it is ſo often urged againſt Vs, as if by that ſingle caſuall miſtake of Ours (in form onely) We had forfeited all Duty, Credit, and Allegiance from Our people: We muſt, without endeavouring to excuſe that, which in truth was an errour (Our going to the Houſe of Commons) give Our people a clear and full narration of the matter of fact, aſſuring Our Self that Our good Subjects will not find Our carriage in that buſineſſe ſuch as hath been reported.

When We reſolved upon ſuch grounds, as when they ſhall be publiſhed will ſatisfie the world, That it was fit for Our own Safety, and Honour, and the Peace of the Kingdome, to proceed againſt thoſe perſons, though We well know there was no degree of Priviledge in that caſe, yet (to ſhew Our deſire of correſpondencie with the two Houſes of Parliament) We choſe, rather then to apprehend their perſons by the ordinary Miniſters of Juſtice (which, according to the Opinion and Practice of former times, We might have done) to command Our Atturney Generall to acquaint Our Houſe of Peers with Our intention,

tention, and the generall matters of Our charge (which was yet more particular then a meer Accuſation) and to proceed accordingly, and at the ſame time ſent a ſworn Servant, a Segeant at Arms to Our Houſe of Commons, to acquaint them, That We did accuſe, and intended to proſecute the five Members of that Houſe for high Treaſon, and did require that their perſons might be ſecured in cuſtody: This We did, not onely to ſhew that We intended not to violate or invade their Priviledges, but to uſe more Ceremony towards them, then We then conceived in Juſtice might be required of Vs; and expected at leaſt ſuch an Anſwer as might inform Us, if We were out of the way; But We received none at all; Onely in the inſtant, without offering any thing of their Priviledges to Our conſideration, an Order was made (and the ſame night publiſhed in Print) That if any perſon whatſoever ſhould offer to Areſt the perſon of any Member of that Houſe, without firſt acquainting that Houſe therewith, and receiving further Order from that Houſe, That it ſhould be lawfull for ſuch Members, or any perſon to aſſiſt them, and to ſtand upon his or their Guard of Defence, and to make reſiſtance according to the Proteſtation taken to defend the Priviledges of Parliament: And this was the firſt time that We heard the Proteſtation might be wreſted to ſuch a ſenſe; or that in any Caſe (though of the moſt undoubted and unqueſtionable Priviledge) it might be lawfull for any Perſon to reſiſt, and uſe violence againſt a publick Miniſter of Juſtice, armed with lawfull Authority; though We well knew, that even ſuch a Miniſter might be puniſhed for executing ſuch Authority. Upon viewing this order We muſt confeſſe We were ſomewhat amazed, having never

ſeen or heard of the like, though We had known Members of either Houſe committed without ſo much Formality as We had uſed, and upon Crimes of a far inferiour nature to thoſe We had ſuggeſted; and having no courſe propoſed to Vs for Our proceeding, We were upon the matter onely told, That againſt thoſe Perſons We were not to proceed at all; That they were above Our reach, or the reach of the Law, it was not eaſie for Vs to reſolve what to do: If We imployed Our Miniſters of Juſtice in the uſuall way for their apprehenſion (who without doubt would not have refuſed to execute Our lawfull commands) We ſaw what Reſiſtance and Oppoſition was like to be made, which very probably might coſt ſome blood; If We ſat ſtill and deſiſted upon this terrour, We ſhould at the beſt have confeſſed Our own want of power, and the weakneſſe of the Law: In this ſtrait We put on a ſudden Reſolution, to try whether Our own preſence, and a clear diſcoverie of Our Intentions (which haply might not have been ſo well underſtood) could remove thoſe doubts, and prevent thoſe Inconveniencies which ſeemed to have been threatned; and thereupon We reſolved to go in Our own Perſon to Our Houſe of Commons, which We diſcovered not till the very minute of Our going, when We ſent out, That Our Servants, and ſuch Gentlemen as were then in Our Court, ſhould attend Vs to *Weſtminſter*; but giving them expreſſe command (as We have expreſſed in Our Anſwer to the Ordinance) that no Accidents or Provocation ſhould draw thē to any ſuch Action as might imply a purpoſe of force in Vs, & Our Self (requiring thoſe of Our Train not to come within the doore) went into the Houſe of Commons, the bare doing of which We did not then conceive would have

have been thought more a breach of Priviledge, then if We had gone to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent for them to come to Us, which is the uſuall cuſtom. We uſed the beſt expreſſions We could to aſſure them how far We were from any Intention of violating their Priviledges, That We intended to proceed Legally and Speedily againſt the perſons We had accuſed, and deſired therefore, if they were in the Houſe, that they might be delivered to Us, or if abſent, that ſuch courſe might be taken for their forth-coming as might ſatisfie Our juſt Demands; and ſo We departed, having no other purpoſe of force, if they had been in the Houſe, then We have before proteſted, before God, in Our Anſwer to the Ordinance. You have an account of Our part of this Story fully, let Our people judge freely of it: What followed on their part (though this Declaration tells you, It could not withdraw any part of their Reverence and Obedience from Us; it may be any part of theirs it did not) We ſhall have too much cauſe hereafter to inform the world.

There will be no end of the Diſcourſe, and upbraiding Us with evill Councellors, if upon Our conſtant deniall of knowing any, they will not vouchſafe to inform Us of them; and after eight Moneths amuſing the Kingdome with the expectation of a diſcovery of a Malignant Party, and of evill Councellors, they will not at laſt name any, nor deſcribe them: Let the Actions and Lives of men be examined, who have Contrived, Councelled, Actually conſented to grieve and burden Our people, and if ſuch be about Vs, or any againſt whom any notorious malicious Crime can be proved; if We ſhelter and protect any ſuch, let Our Injuſtice be publiſhed to the world; but till that be done particularly and manifeſtly, (for We

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ſhall never conclude any man, upon a bare generall Vote of the major part of either, or both Houſes, till it be evident that major part muſt be without Paſſion or Affection) We muſt look upon the charge this Declaration puts on Vs, of cheriſhing and countenancing a diſcontented Party of the Kingdome againſt them, as a heavier and unjuſter tax upon Our Juſtice and Honour, then any We have, or can lay upon the Framers of that Declaration.

And now, to countenance thoſe unhandſome Expreſſions, whereby uſually they have implyed Our connivance at, or want of *Zeal* againſt the Rebellion of *Ireland*, (ſo odious to all good men) they have found a new way of exprobration: That the Proclamation againſt thoſe bloudy Traytors, came not out till the beginning of January, though that Rebellion broke out in October, and then by ſpeciall Command from Vs, but fourty Copies were appointed to be printed. Tis well known where We were at that time when that Rebellion brake forth, in *Scotland*. That We immediately, from thence, recommended the care of that buſineſſe to both Houſes of Parliament here, after we had provided for all fitting ſupplies from Our Kingdome of *Scotland*, that after Our return hither We obſerved all thoſe Forms for that Service, which We were adviſed to by Our Councell of *Ireland*, or both Houſes of Parliament here: And if no Proclamation iſſued out ſooner (of which for the preſent We are not certain, but think that others before that time were iſſued by Our directions) it was, becauſe the Lords Juſtices of the Kingdome deſired them no ſooner; and when they did, the number they deſired was but twenty, which they adviſed might be ſigned by Vs; which We, for expedition of the Service commanded to be printed (a circumſtance

not

not required by them) and thereupon We Signed more of them then Our Juſtices deſired: All which was very well known to ſome Members of one or both Houſes of Parliament, who have the more to anſwer, if they forbore to expreſſe it at the paſſing of this Declaration; and if they did expreſſe it, We have the greater reaſon to complain, that ſo envious an Aſperſion ſhould be caſt on Vs to Our People, when they knew well how to anſwer their own Objection.

What that Complaint is againſt the Parliament, put forth in Our Name, which is ſuch an evidence and countenance to the Rebels, and ſpeaks the ſame language of the Parliament, which the Rebels do, We cannot underſtand. All Our Anſwers and Declarations have been, and are owned by Vs, and have been atteſted under Our own Hand, If any other had been publiſhed in Our Name, and without Our Authority, it would be eaſie for both Houſes of Parliament to diſcover and apprehend the Authours: And We wiſh, that whoſoever was truſted with the Drawing and Penning of that Declaration, had no more Authority or cunning to impoſe upon, or deceive a major part of thoſe Votes by which it paſſed, then any man hath to prevail with Vs, to publiſh in Our Name any thing but the Senſe and Reſolution of Our own Heart: Or that the Contriver of that Declaration could with as good a Conſcience call God to witneſſe, that all His Counſels and Endeavours have been free from all private Aims, Perſonall Reſpects, or Paſſions whatſoever, as We have done and do, That We never had or knew of ſuch Reſolutions of bringing up the army to *London*. And ſince this new device is found out in ſtead of Anſwering Our Reaſons, or ſatisfying Our juſt De-

 mands,

mands, to blaſt Our Declarations and Anſwers, as if they were not our own (a bold ſenſeleſſe imputation) We are ſure that every Anſwer and Declaration publiſhed by Vs, is much more Our own, then any one of thoſe bold, threatning, and reprochfull Petitions and Remonſtrances are the Acts of either, or both Houſes. And if the Penner of that Declaration had been carefull of the truſt repoſed in him, he would never have denied (and thereupon found fault with Our juſt Indignation) in the Text or Margent, that We had never been charged with the intention of any Force, and that in their whole Declaration, there is no word tending to ſuch a Reproch; The contrary whereof is ſo evident, that We are in expreſſe terms charged in that Declaration, That We ſent them gracious Meſſages, when, with Our Privity, bringing up the Army was in agitation. And even in this Declaration, they ſeek to make Our people believe ſome ſuch thing, to be proved in the Depoſitions now publiſhed, wherein, We doubt not, they will as much fail, as they do in their Cenſure of that Petition ſhewed formerly to Vs by Captain *Legg*, and ſubſcribed by Vs with *C. R.* which notwithſtanding Our full and particular Narration of the ſubſtance of that Petition, the circumſtances of Our ſeeing and approving it, this Declaration is pleaſed to ſay, Was full of ſcandall to the Parliament, and might have proved dangerous to the whole Kingdome. If they have this dangerous Petition in their hands, We have no reaſon to believe any tendernes to Vs-ward hath kept them from communicating it; If they have it not, We ought to have been believed: But that all good people may compute their other pretended dangers by their clear underſtanding of this, the noiſe whereof hath not been

been inferiour to any of the reſt; We have recovered a true Copy of the very Petition We ſigned with C. R. which ſhall in fit time be publiſhed, and which, We hope, will open the eyes of Our good people.

Concerning Our warrant for Maſter *Jermins* paſſage, Our Anſwer was true and full; But for his black Sattin Suit, and white Boots, We can give no account.

We complained in Our Declaration, and as often as We have occaſion to mention Our return and reſidence near *London*, We ſhall complain of the barbarous and ſeditious Tumults at *Weſtminſter* and *Whitehall*, which indeed were ſo full of ſcandall to Our Government, and danger to Our Perſon, that We ſhall never think of Our return thither, till We have Juſtice for what is paſt, and ſecurity for the time to come. And if there were ſo great a neceſſity, or deſire of Our return as is pretended in all this time upon ſo often preſſing Our Deſires, and upon cauſes ſo notorious, We ſhould at leaſt have procured ſome Order for the future. But that Declaration tells Vs, We are upon the matter miſtaken, The reſort of the Citizens to *Weſtminſter*, was as lawfull as the reſort of great numbers every day in the Terme to the ordinary Courts of Juſtice. They knew no Tumults. Strange! Was the diſorderly appearance of ſo many thouſand people with Staves and Swords crying thorow the ſtreets, *Weſtminſter* Hall, the paſſage between both Houſes (in ſo much as the Members could hardly paſſe to and fro) No Biſhops, Down with the Biſhops, no Tumults? What Member is there of either Houſes that ſaw not thoſe numbers, and heard not thoſe cries? And yet lawfull Aſſemblies: Were not ſeverall Members of either Houſe aſſaulted, threatned, and ill intreated? And yet no Tu-

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mults: Why made the Houſe of Peers a Declaration, and ſent it down to the Houſe of Commons, for the ſuppreſſing of Tumults, if there were no Tumults? And if there were any, why was not ſuch a Declaration conſented to and publiſhed: When the attempts were ſo viſible, and the threats ſo loud to pull down the Abbey at *Weſtminſter*, had not We cauſe to apprehend, That ſuch people might continue their work to *Whitehall*? Yet no Tumults. What a ſtrange time are We in, That a few Impudent, Malicious (to give them no worſe term) men ſhould caſt ſuch a ſtrange miſt of errour before the eyes of both Houſes of Parliament, as that they either cannot, or will not ſee how manifeſtly they injure themſelves, by maintaining theſe viſible untruths? We ſay no more; By the help of God and the Law, We will have Juſtice for thoſe Tumults.

From excepting (how weightily let every man judge) to what We have ſaid, that Declaration proceeds to cenſure Vs for what we have not ſaid, for the prudent Omiſſions in Our Anſwer: We forbore to ſay any thing of the words ſpoken at *Kenſington*; or the Articles againſt Our deareſt Conſort; and of the Accuſation of the ſix Members: Of the laſt, We had ſpoken often; and We thought enough of the other two: having never accuſed any (though God knows what truth there might be in either) We had no reaſon to give any particular Anſwer.

We do not reckon Our Self bereaved of any part of Our Prerogative, which We are pleaſed freely, for a time, to part with by Bill; yet We muſt ſay, We expreſſed a great truſt in Our two Houſes of Parliament, when We deveſted Our Self of the Power of diſſolving this Parliament,

Parliament, which was a juſt, neceſſary, and Proper Prerogative: But We are glad to heare their Reſolution, That it ſhall not encourage them to do any thing, which otherwiſe had not been fit to have been done: If it do, it will be ſuch a breach of Truſt, God will require an Account for at their hands.

For the *Militia*, We have ſaid ſo much in it heretofore, and the point is ſo well underſtood by all men, that We will waſte time no more in that diſpute. We never ſaid, There was no ſuch thing as an Ordinance (though We know that they have been long diſ-uſed) but that there was never any Ordinance, or can be without the Kings conſent; and that is true: and the unneceſſary Preſident cited in the Declaration, doth not offer to prove the contrary: But enough of that; God and the Law muſt determine that buſineſſe.

Neither hath this Declaration given Vs any ſatisfaction, concerning the Votes of the fifteenth and ſixteenth of March laſt, which We muſt declare, and appeal to all the world in the point, to be the greateſt violation of Our Priviledge, the Law of the Land, the Libertie of the Subject, and the Right of Parliament that can be imagined. One of thoſe Votes is (and there needs no other to deſtroy the King and People) That when the Lords and Commons ('tis well the Commons are admitted to their part in Judicature) ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, the ſame muſt be aſſented to, and obeyed; that is the ſenſe in few words. Where is every mans Propertie, every mans Libertie? If a major part of both Houſes declare that the Law is, that the younger Brother ſhall inherit, what's become of all the Families and Eſtates in the Kingdome? If they declare, That by

the Fundamentall Law of the Land, ſuch a raſh Action, ſuch an unadviſed Word ought to be puniſhed by perpetuall Impriſonment, is not the Libertie of the Subject, *Durante beneplacito*, remedileſſe? That Declaration confeſſeth, They pretend not to a Power of making new Laws, That without Vs, they cannot do that: They need no ſuch Power, if their Declaration can ſuſpend this Statute from being obeyed or executed, and make this Order, which is no Statute, to be obeyed and executed. If they have Power to declare the Lord *Digbyes* waiting on Vs to *Hampton Court*, and thence viſiting ſome Officers at *Kingſton*, with a Coach and ſix Horſes, to be levying of Warre, and High Treaſon: And Sir *John Hothams* defying Vs to Our face, keeping our Town, Fort, and Goods againſt Vs, by force of Arms, to be an Act of Affection and Loyaltie, What needs a Power of making new Laws? Or is there ſuch a thing as Law left? We deſire Our good Subjects to mark the Reaſon and Conſequence of theſe Votes, the progreſſe they have already made, and how infinite that progreſſe may be. Firſt, they Vote the Kingdome is in imminent danger (it is above three moneths ſince they diſcerned it) from Enemies abroad, and a Popiſh and Diſcontented Partie at home; That is matter of Fact; the Law follows: This Vote hath given them Authoritie by Law (the fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome) to order and diſpoſe of the *Militia* of the Kingdome, and with this power, and to prevent that danger, to enter into Our Towns, ſeize upon Our Magazine, and by force, keep both from Vs: Is not this Our caſe? Firſt, they Vote We have an intention to levie warre againſt our Parliament; that's matter of Fact: Then they declare, Such as ſhall aſſiſt Vs, to

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be guilty of High Treason, that is the Law, and proved by two Statutes, themselves know to be repealed: No matter for that; They declare it. Vpon this ground they exercise the *Militia*, and so actually do that upon Vs, which they have voted We intend to do upon them: Who doth not see the confusion that must follow upon such a power of declaring? If they should now vote, That we did not write this Declaration, but that such a one did it, which is still matter of fact; and then declare, That for so doing, he is an Enemie to the Commonwealth; what is become of the Law that man was born to? And if all their Zeal for the defence of the Law, be but to defend that which they declare to be Law, their own Votes, it will not be in their power to satisfie any man of their good intentions to the publick Peace, but such who are willing to relinquish his title to *Magna Charta*, and hold his life and fortune by a Vote of a major part of both Houses: In a word, We deny not but they may have a power to declare in a particular doubtfull case regularly brought before them, what Law is; but to make a generall Declaration, whereby the known Rule of the Law may be crossed or altered, they have no power, nor can exercise any, without bringing the Life and Liberty of the Subject to a lawlesse and arbitrary subjection.

We complained (and let the world judge the Justice and necessity of that Complaint) of the multitude of Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons. And that Declaration tells Vs, They know We have wayes enough in Our ordinary Courts of Justice to punish those: So We have to punish Tumults and Riots, and yet they will not serve Our turn to keep Our Towns, Our Forests, and Parks from violence. And it may be, though those Courts have

have ſtill the power to puniſh, they may have loſt the skil to define what Riots and Tumults are; otherwiſe a Jury in *Southwark*, legally impanelled to examine a Riot there, would not have been Superſeded, & the Sheriff enjoyned not to proceed, by vertue of an Order of the Houſe of Commons; which, it ſeems at that time, had the ſole power of declaring. But it is no wonder, That they who could not ſee the Tumults, do not conſider the Pamphlets and Sermons, though the Author of the Proteſtation proteſted, be well known to be *Burton* (that infamous Diſturber of the peace of this Church and State) and that he preached it at *Weſtminſter*, in the hearing of divers Members of the Houſe of Commons: But of ſuch Pamphlets, and ſeditious Preachers (divers whereof have been recommended, if not impoſed upon ſeverall Pariſhes, by ſome Members of both Houſes, by What Authority We know not) We ſhall hereafter take a further account.

We confeſſe, We have little skill in the Laws, and thoſe that have had moſt, We now find are much to ſeek: Yet We cannot underſtand or believe, That every ordinary Court, or any Court, hath power to raiſe what Guard they pleaſe, and under what Command they pleaſe; Neither can We imagine what dangerous effects they found by the Guard We appointed them, or (indeed) any the leaſt occaſion why they needed a Guard at all.

But of all the Imputations ſo cauſeleſly and unjuſtly laid upon Vs by that Declaration, We muſt wonder at that charge ſo apparently and evidently untrue, That ſuch are continually preferred and countenanced by Us, who are Friends or Favourers, or related unto the chief Authours

Authours and Actours of that Arbitrary power heretofore practiſed and complained of: And on the other ſide, That ſuch as did appear againſt it, are daily diſcountenanced and diſgraced. We would know one Perſon that contributed to the Ills of thoſe Times, or had dependance upon thoſe that did, whom We do, or lately have countenanced or preferred; Nay, We are confident (and We look for no other at their hands) as they have been alwaies moſt eminent Aſſertours of the publick liberties, ſo if they found Vs inclined to any thing not agreeable to Honour and Juſtice, they would leave Vs to morrow: Whether different Perſons have not, and do not receive countenance elſewhere, & upon what grounds, let all men judge; & whether We have not been forward enough to honour and preferre thoſe of the moſt contrary opinion, how little comfort ſoever We have had of thoſe preferments; in beſtowing of which, hereafter We ſhall be more guided by mens Actions then Opinions: And therefore We had good cauſe to beſtow that Admonition (for We aſſure you it was an Admonition of Our own) upon both Our Houſes of Parliament, to take heed of inclining, under the ſpecious ſhews of Neceſſity and Danger, to the exerciſe of ſuch an Arbitrary power they before complained of: The Advice will do no harm, and We ſhall be glad to ſee it followed.

And are all the ſpecious Promiſes, and loud Profeſſions, Of making Us a Great and Glorious King, Of ſettling a greater Revenue upon Us, then any of Our Anceſtours have enjoyed, Of making Us to be Honoured at home, and Feared abroad, reſolved into this, That they will be ready to ſettle Our Revenue, in an Honourable Proportion, when We ſhall put Our Self in ſuch a Po-

ſture of Government that Our Subjects may be ſecure to enjoy Our juſt Protection for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties? What Poſture of Government they intend We know not, nor can We imagine what Security Our good Subjects can deſire for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which We have not offered, or fully given. And is it ſuitable to the duty and dignity of both Houſes of Parliament to Anſwer Our particular weighty expreſſions of the Cauſes of Our remove from *London* (ſo generally known to the Kingdome) with a Scoff, That they hope We were driven from thence, not by Our own Fears, but by the Fears of the Lord *Digby*, and his Retinue of Cavaliers? Sure the Penner of that Declaration inſerted that ungrave and inſolent Expreſſion (as he hath done divers others) without the conſent or examination of both Houſes; who would not ſo lightly have departed from their former profeſſions of duty to Us.

Whether the way to a good Underſtanding between Us and Our people hath been as zealouſly preſſed by them, as it hath been profeſſed and deſired by Vs, will be eaſily diſcerned by thoſe who obſerve, that We have left no publick Act undone on Our part, which, in the leaſt degree, might be neceſſary to the Peace, Plenty, and Security of Our Subjects, and that they have not diſpatched one Act which hath given the leaſt evidence of their particular Affection and Kindneſſe to Vs: But on the contrary, have diſcountenanced and hindred the teſtimony other men would give to Vs of their affections: Witneſſe the ſtopping and keeping back the Bill of Subſidies granted by the Clergie, almoſt a yeare ſince, which though Our perſonall wants are ſo notoriouſly known, they will not, to this time, paſſe: So not onely forbearing

forbearing to ſupply Vs themſelves, but keeping the Love and Bounty of other men from Vs, and afford no other Anſwers to all Our Deſires, all Our Reaſons (indeed not to be anſwered) then, That We muſt not make Our Vnderſtanding or Reaſon the Rule of Our government, but ſuffer Our Self to be aſſiſted (which We never denied) by Our great Councell. We require no other Liberty to Our will, then the meaneſt of them do (We wiſh they would alwayes uſe that Liberty) not to conſent to any thing evidently contrary to Our Conſcience and Vnderſtanding: and We have and ſhall alwayes give as much eſtimation and regard to the Advice and Counſell of both Our Houſes of Parliament, as ever Prince hath done: But We ſhall never (and We hope Our people will never) account the contrivance of a few (Factious, Seditious perſons, a Malignant Party, who would ſacrifice the Commonwealth to their own furie and ambition) the wiſdome of Parliament; and that the juſtifying and defending ſuch perſons (of whom, and of their particular ſiniſter wayes to compaſſe their own bad ends, We ſhall ſhortly inform the world) is not the way to preſerve Parliaments, but is the oppoſing and preferring the conſideration of a few unworthy perſons, before their Duty to their King, or their care of the Kingdome. They would have Vs remember that Our Reſolutions do concern Kingdomes, and therefore not to be moulded by Our own Underſtanding: We well remember it; But we would have them remember, That when their Conſultations endeavour to leſſen the Office and Dignity of a King, they meddle with that which is not within their determination, and of which We muſt give an account to God and Our other King-

domes, and must maintain with the sacrifice of Our life.

Lastly, that Declaration tells you of a present desperate and malicious Plot, the Malignant Partie is now acting, under the plausible Notions of stirring men up to a care of preserving the Kings Prerogative, maintaining the Discipline of the Church, upholding and continuing the Reverence and Solemnitie of Gods Service, and encouraging Learning, (indeed plausible and honourable Notions to act any thing upon) and that upon these grounds divers mutinous Petitions have been framed in *London*, *Kent*, and other Places. Vpon what Grounds would these men have Petitions framed? Have so many Petitions (even against the Form and Constitution of the Kingdome, and the Laws established) been joyfully received and accepted? And shall Petitions framed upon these Grounds be called Mutinous? Hath a multitude of mean, unknown, inconsiderable, contemptible Persons about the Citie and Suburbs of *London*, had libertie to Petition against the Government of the Church, against the Book of Common Prayer, against the Freedome and Priviledge of Parliament, and been thanked for it: And shall it be called Mutinie in the gravest and best Citizens of *London*, in the Gentry and Commonaltie of *Kent*, to frame Petitions upon these grounds; and to desire to be governed by the known Laws of the Land, not by Orders and Votes of either, or both Houses? Can this be thought the Wisdome and Justice of both Houses of Parliament? Is it not evidently the work of a Faction within or without both Houses, who deceive the Trust reposed in them, and have now told Vs what Mutinie is, to stirre Men up to a Care of preserving Our Prerogative, maintaining the Discipline of the Church, upholding

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ing and continuing the Reverence and Solemnitie of Gods Service, encouraging of Learning, is Mutinie? Let Heaven and Earth, God and Man, judge between Vs and theſe Men: And however ſuch Petitions are, there, called Mutinous, and the Petitioners Threatned, Diſcountenanced, Cenſured, and Impriſoned: If they bring ſuch lawfull Petitions to us, We will graciouſly receive them, and defend them and their Rights againſt what power ſoever, with the uttermoſt hazard of Our being.

We have been the longer (to Our very great pain) in this Anſwer, that We might give the World ſatisfaction, even in the moſt triviall Particulars which have been objected againſt Vs; and that we may not be again reproched with any more prudent Omiſſions. If We have been compelled to ſharper Language then we affect, let it be conſidered, how vile, how inſufferable Our Provocations have been; And except to repell Force be to aſſault, and to give punctuall & neceſſary Anſwers to rough and inſolent Demands, be to make invectives, We are confident the world will accuſe Vs of too much Mildneſſe; and all Our good Subjects will think, We are not well dealt with, and will judge of Vs, and of their own happineſſe and ſecuritie in Vs by our Actions; which We deſire may no longer proſper, or have a bleſſing from God upon them and Vs, then they ſhall be directed to the glory of God, in the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, to the preſervation of the Propertie, and the Libertie of the Subject, in the obſervation of the Laws, and to the maintenance of the Rights and Freedome of Parliament, in the allowance and protection of all their juſt Priviledges.

FINIS.